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CHAPTER II

# RELIGION

*The Universe—Supernatural Beings—Supernatural Elements in Human Beings—Means of Propitiation*

## The Universe

ONE of the subjects about which Bella Coola philosophers pondered in former times, and about which definite information has come down to the present generation, is the universe. The young people, who have absorbed a certain amount of education from the white man, are scornful of the beliefs of their fathers, but it was possible to obtain the following information from a few of the older men and women.

They say that the earth is circular and flat, like an island. What it rests upon is problematical, though the assumption is that it is water. The world is kept from capsizing by the supernatural being, *Sninia*, who lives amid the ice in the far north; he grasps a rope to which the earth is fastened, and he keeps it steady by maintaining a tension on the rope to hold the world against his feet. Long, long ago *Sninia* was seen by human beings, but in later years no one has penetrated to his distant home and the Bella Coola have little regard for him. It was in the distant past, also, that human beings discovered the earth to be round, after certain semi-supernatural men had made a circuit of it. The four corners of space have not the same importance to the Bella Coola as they have, for example, to the Indians of the Plains. It is only through questioning that the investigator learns that the East is regarded as the top of the world, the South is the sun at its zenith, the West is the bottom, and the North is nothing, merely the opposite to the south. These beliefs play little part in the lives of the people.

Above our earth stretches an inverted dome, its edges resting on those of the world. This dome, the sky, is called

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772 *sonyʷ*. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sonyʷ* as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. [811] This flat land is called *dāsonxʷdā* or *wasonyʷ nuuxtlhoqosil*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. [821] According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, [538] which the Bella Coola explain by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, [424] which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

772 The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind 773 that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the [776] supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Salwaleam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

772 As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that 821 seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

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sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a far-off place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqulilh*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1] At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

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beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are believed to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs.

There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all other worlds it has a sun above it,[1] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the droning of two *Aiiiläxa*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any visible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *snang*, a mythological animal of enormous size.

The moon is thought likewise to travel[2] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman who died not many years ago claimed to have received power

[1] One informant stated that our sun served that purpose.
[2] The *Aiiiläxa* drone as it travels, as they do for the sun.

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* 776 [821] *Ălquntăm* is occasionally, but inaccurately, called *Sunx*, the Sun.

● 772 * 776 Though *Ălquntăm* often sojourns in the sun, his home is in the flat land above the sky, a huge house which figures prominently both in Bella Coola mythology and present-day thought. The name of the house is *Nusmăt-a*. It resembles those constructed on this earth, but is boundless in size. Like [552] the houses of human beings, its name is changed according to what is taking place within. Every autumn the supernatural beings gather there to await the coming of *Ălquntăm* at the winter solstice; while waiting they pass the time by performing the equivalent of the earthly *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1). This assemblage is termed *qulxwaix*, and the house, during this period, *Nusqulxwaista*.

The following names of the house, with meanings, were obtained:

*Nusmăt-a*, "The Place of Myths."

*Nusqwatlnaista*, "Where Everything Was Begun."

*Nuskulălnumsta*, "The Place Whence Came the Falling Down."

*Nusklumnănumsta*, "The Place Where Mankind was Made."

*Nusălquntămsta*, "The Place Where *Ălquntăm* Speaks."

*Nusqulxwaista*, "The Place of the *Qulxwaix*."

*Nuspskumsta*, "The Place of Meeting," or "The Council House."

*Nulsaxmăls*. The meaning of this word is unknown.

*Ănuxwolxukmăls*, "The Moving House." The significance of this last name rests on an ancient myth in which the house is described as travelling from place to place.

773 * 776 To grasp the significance of these designations it is necessary to understand the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the creation. Their mythology contains no account of the origin or birth of *Ălquntăm* himself, nor of the making of this world; in the beginning of time no living creature, either animal or vegetable, existed with the exception of *Ălquntăm*. He, therefore, decided to alter and populate the world and

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vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and floats aloft to *Nusmăt·a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore, that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it.

Knowledge of *Nusmăt·a* has been inherited almost entirely from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based on the following incident:

Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His sorrowing father kept wondering:

"Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"

Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Alquntăm* had recalled him to *Nusmăt·a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmăt·a* must consequently be partitionless.

*Nusmăt·a* contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella Coola, it is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being irremovably located there is an old woman, *Smalqalpăls*. The most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmăt·a* is *Alquntăm*'s seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid

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what is probably a moosehide, with salmon painted on it, symbolic of his guardianship of fish for the benefit of mankind. In other respects *Nusmāt·a* has no peculiarities. Behind the house is an enormous tree, *Tsunsun·iaqim*, in the branches of which live innumerable owls.

After this description of *Nusmāt·a*, it is logical to return to its master, *Ălquntām*. Guiding the sun is his most spectacular occupation, but he also governs the movements of moon and tides. Powerful though he is, he continues to take an interest in the doings of mankind whom he created. Prayers are commonly addressed to him, and a certain type of shaman is believed to receive power direct from him. Other supernatural beings may work weal or woe to a Bella Coola, but he feels it is done with the sanction of *Ălquntām*. At every winter solstice he enters *Nusmāt·a*, where supernatural beings from all parts of the universe have gathered to greet him. This assembly is called *qulxwaix*, and *Nusmāt·a* is termed *Nusqulxwaista*[1] for its duration. While waiting, the guests perform *kusiut* dances, similar to those carried out by members of the *kusiut* society on earth (see vol. II, chap. 1). At *Ălquntām*'s entry the heat becomes so intense that the occupants rush forth precipitately, some falling and being trampled upon in the crush. Only three[2] advisers, including *Sexsexālaix* (I, p. 41), remain to confer with him. They arrange the fate of human beings during the coming year; who shall be made a *kusiut*, who shall be born, who shall die. In each case the decision rests with *Ălquntām*, though he is influenced by his counsellors. Human beings can often learn in dreams what is being decided for them.

*Ălquntām*, in spite of his strength, shares the limitations of any other chief, and is not invariably successful. The Bella Coola delight in telling stories of how supernatural beings, especially the Raven, outwitted and defeated him. Even

[1] Often pronounced *Nuxqualwaista*.
[2] The exact number is uncertain.

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the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above *Nusmät·a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kämai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kämai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed to her, which is never done now. The word *kämai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to translate. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kämai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

Another supernatural being so far removed from this world that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is *Sninia*. He is the male being whom *Älquntäm* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which causes an earthquake. If *Sninia* should lose his grip entirely the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut* dancers.

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encountered on land, but the sea likewise is the home of anthropomorphic creatures. Far beneath the surface is a land much like the earth, inhabited by people resembling humans who sometimes assist a drowning person. The mysteries of this undersea world are known to the Bella Coola chiefly through accounts handed down from generation to generation, though its inhabitants have often appeared at the surface. Their hair is long and somewhat reddish, their bodies are hairless, and their faces are in many cases stained with black. One man stated that about three years before a Japanese, fishing near Namu, had caught in his net one of these people, a girl about two years old. He drew her into his boat, where she squatted on the bottom, docile and submissive. After a time the fisherman became frightened and threw his captive overboard. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella, greater seafarers than themselves, have more extensive knowledge of these undersea dwellers.

Similar, if not identical, beings live beneath rivers and lakes; they have often been seen on the surface, and occasionally, long, long ago, certain fortunate individuals saw their houses. Accounts of such are embodied in Bella Coola mythology and will be described later. The following can be considered an example of a simple type:

About three hundred years ago, *Ɬxwumxwumlaix*, a Kimsquit fisherman, built a pier-like framework, projecting into the Dean River, on which to stand while fishing for salmon with a long-handled[14] scoop-net. One August day he was using his net when, after a number of successful sweeps, it became very heavy. As the net came to the surface he found, to his amazement, that a small boy was hanging on the rim. A number of people who had been watching from the shore, called to him to throw away his net with its uncanny haul. Heedless of this advice, *Ɬxwumxwumlaix* tried to lift his net and, on finding it too heavy, began to draw it through the water so as to drag it out on the shore. All went well for the first few yards, till suddenly the boy shoved against the net, pushing the fisherman into the water on the other side of the pier. Immediately the supernatural one vanished from sight. As the bystanders rushed to

[14] The handles of nets of this type are said to have been about thirty feet in length.

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the Bella Coola. No one knows the name of the fire devourer, and it may be that he lacks form. Though ignorant of the law of conservation of matter, the Bella Coola realize that the wood must have gone somewhere, and postulate a land far across the western sea where burnt wood lies in shadowy heaps, each billet retaining its original form though it lacks material substance. This region is presided over by an evil being with a desire for human flesh (II, p. 468).

The above list by no means exhausts the anthropomorphic beings resident either in *Nusmät·a* or in this world. Those described are the most important, and suffice to make clear the religious attitude of the Bella Coola to beings of this type. Others appear in connection with *kusiut* dances only, and a consideration of them can be deferred until vol. II, chap. I, whereas some belong essentially to shamanism and allied subjects treated in vol. I, chap. IX.

### ZOOMORPHIC BEINGS

The attitude of mingled hope and fear with which the Bella Coola regard their supernatural anthropomorphic beings is typical of their thoughts and actions concerning zoomorphic creatures as well. In the supernatural world the dividing line between human and animal beings is not clearly defined; fabulous monsters have the mentality of supermen, and can be appeased, besought, or cajoled precisely as are anthropomorphic beings. Like those of human form, supernatural animals can bestow good or evil on human beings with whom they come in contact. The division shown in this chapter must, therefore, be regarded as merely for convenience; it does not correspond to a distinction in the minds of the Bella Coola.

One of the most dreaded animals known to the Bella Coola is the *snuuq*, a monster about the size of a large grizzly bear, with long, silky, beautiful hair, blue-grey in colour. It walks almost upright on short hind legs, so that its long fore-legs touch the ground at intervals; these are provided with sharp

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not affect his daily life.

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon, *skämtsk*, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, *sʉiutl*. To these must be added the sun, because some of the original people came to earth in human form by sliding down his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nuɬunikta*, the posts which stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form. The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According to some accounts it was these posts which supported the first sky until it fell.

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The matter was approached from every possible angle and not the slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said:

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the

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at the back of the neck; this is called *nulkälxita* by the Bella Coola and it is thought to be especially important since the spirit (I, p. 94) is located there. Somewhat discouraged by his lack of success, Raven sat holding his head in his hands, pondering. Finally, he decided that he would have to visit *Miältsms*, the land of the salmon far beyond the western ocean.

His self-propelling canoe, *Tohnkl*, was soon made ready and Raven invited Mouse, a young woman, to accompany him. The two travelled without incident till they came to the flat land where the salmon had their homes. On the beach were myriads of canoes, each in reality the skin of a sockeye salmon. Raven had instructed Mouse to remain in his canoe, so when the sockeye salmon chief invited the two to his house only Raven accepted, though Mouse was urged most courteously to accompany him. Raven was conducted to the house, where his host threw his own daughter into the river. She changed into a sockeye salmon and swam to the beach; some of her father's servants cut her up and brought her to the house where she was cooked. The meal was set before the guest whom the chief instructed not to eat any of the bones. As he ate, Raven examined the salmon very carefully to see what had been lacking in his model, and soon discovered it to be the thin bone, shaped like a maple leaf, at the back of the neck. Seizing an opportunity when no one was looking, Raven secreted this bone against the palate of his mouth. When the meal was over and the guest had tied what was left of the food into a mat, someone collected all the bones and threw them into the river. Forthwith they became a sockeye salmon, which swam towards the shore. But after an instant, the fish began to behave peculiarly, swimming around madly in circles, and jumping in an aimless manner. Everyone agreed that a bone must have been lost, and they searched the house for it without success. They also examined Raven. Finally, one man thought of investigating the guest's mouth where they found the missing bone.

"Oh," said Raven, lying: "I did not know it was there."

As soon as the bone was thrown into the river the sockeye salmon became normal and swam quietly to the beach where it changed into the chief's daughter once more.

When the time came to leave, Raven asked the chief to tell his daughter to take his bundle of food to his canoe for him. Meanwhile Mouse had carried out Raven's instructions, which were to gnaw a hole in each of the sockeye salmon canoes. Raven entered *Tohnkl* before taking the parcel from the girl, and as he stepped in, the canoe was forced a little distance from the land so that she waded into the water to hand it to him. As she did so, he backed his canoe further out until

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she had to follow him into water up to her waist. Then Raven suddenly grasped her under the arms, hauled her into his craft, and fled. The sockeye salmon men cried out in anger and leapt into their canoes for pursuit, but one by one they sank; Mouse had done her work well. For a time the chase was close; in fact, the sockeye salmon nearly caught *Tobunkl* in North Bentinck Arm, but as danger threatened, Raven seized a pole and delivered several vigorous thrusts which sent the canoe beyond the reach of the already sinking pursuers. The gashes made in the rocks by his shoves are still visible near the site of the Bella Coola Cannery, as well as the pole which he threw ashore when he had finished with it; it became petrified and can still be seen immediately behind the manager's house. At the south of the Bella Coola River, Raven threw the chief's daughter into the water. Her descendants are the sockeye salmon which visit that stream; and it is due to his failure to capture more than one, that so few sockeyes come to this river.

Another version of this myth was collected from a Kimsquit man.

It describes how Raven went alone in *Tobunkl* to the land of the salmon, in the guise of an old man. He was courteously received at the home of *Skaspts*, chief of the salmon, who gave him a meal of that fish. Raven carefully watched to ascertain what he had omitted from his wooden model, and when he found out that it was the bone at the back of the neck, he secreted one in the palate of his mouth. Presently one of the salmon women became ill, and *Skaspts* said:

"Old man, you have hidden a bone."

The salmon searched Raven, but failed to find what he had hidden, and he was able to return to Kimsquit with it. He added this bone to one of his models, and it was at once able to swim strongly; in fact, it became a real salmon.

This fish was the ancestor of all steel-head salmon, which are still called *Samsamkdimut di Qwax*, "The Salmon-like Fish of Raven." They are not considered as valuable for food as other salmon.

Another exploit accredited to Raven in the beginning of time was the bringing of herring to Kimsquit.

None of these fish then inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to bring them to increase the food supplies of his people. A gull happened to catch a single herring far from shore and brought it to Raven, who smeared *Tobunkl* with its scales. Then he set out for the land of the herring beyond the western ocean. On arriving, Raven went to the home

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had followed my instructions this trouble would not have come upon you."

Meanwhile *Ḷomoqwa* had been questioning *Ailsamka*: "Why did you not obey Raven's instructions about cutting up Black Cod? You have been committing a very serious offence, but I shall return you to your parents tomorrow and you can tell them to be more careful in future about teaching people."

The land in which the little girl found herself was much like this earth, containing a river, with the ocean in place of the sky over it. An old woman, *Snulqulẓäls di Ḷomoqwa*, who was living in *Ḷomoqwa*'s house, told *Ailsamka* not to eat any unfamiliar food which her captor-host might offer her, or she would be unable to return; whereas she would be all right if she maintained her customary diet. Presently someone asked her what she would like to eat; she named several of her favourite dishes and they were brought to her without demur. Next morning, it was really next year but she did not know that,[1] *Ḷomoqwa* prepared to send her back. From the doorway of his house she could see the cod lines hanging down through the water, and *Ḷomoqwa* asked her is she could see her father's.

"No," she replied, "he is not there."

In what seemed a few minutes, but in reality was several months, because *Ḷä·pxaok* did not begin his fishing until March, she saw his canoe approaching.

She said to *Ḷomoqwa*, "That is he. I recognize his paddle."

*Ḷä·pxaok* dropped his line, and as he did so began to cry, thinking of his dead daughter. Acting on *Ḷomoqwa*'s instructions, *Ailsamka* grasped the lowest hook, while *Ḷomoqwa* sent a black cod to each of the others. After a while *Ḷä·pxaok* recovered from his spasm of grief and hauled up his line, assisted by his two sons who were with him in the canoe. So great was their amazement at seeing *Ailsamka* on the line that they refused to believe their eyes and wanted to throw the line back, but she quickly called out:

"I am your daughter."

The father thankfully drew her into the boat, exclaiming at her long absence; this was the first she knew that she had been away for more than a single night.

Her two brothers called out, "*Ḷä·pxaok*'s daughter has returned, haul in your lines."

The news was passed from canoe to canoe, the fishermen drew up their lines and hurried ashore to *Ḷä·pxaok*'s house, eager to hear what had happened. Fresh sand was spread on the floor, as is always done when

[1] One day in the land of supernatural beings is equivalent to a year for mortals.

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described, at death the shadow, the body, and a portion of the life, descend to the land below where existence is continued as a ghost. These wraiths are usually termed, *Kołkw"lmx̣*, "The Earthy Ones," though they prefer the name *Asiutänem*, "They Who Have Become Supernatural." They enter into the lives and actions of the Bella Coola in a way entirely different from that of the elements which go aloft at death.

The land of ghosts, immediately beneath the earth, is similar to it. There are trees and bushes, stones, grass, everything as on the surface of the world. There is a river, too, but it rises in the west and flows eastward, contrary to the course of the Bella Coola. The sun that shines below is green and unnatural, giving an ethereal light like that of the moon which, indeed, it is sometimes said to be. The seasons are the reverse of those on earth; when mortals are in midsummer, it is wintertime for ghosts. The fluff which human beings see falling from cottonwood trees reaches the land of ghosts as snow. All earthly springs rise from the river in the land below; they never freeze in winter because they come from a warm region, and the coldness of spring water in summer is the result of coming from a land where it is winter. With the exception of the peculiar light, the only essential difference between the land of ghosts and this world is that food is very scarce in the former; berries grow below, and it is supposed that there must be fish and animals there, but it is common knowledge that residents there are always hungry.

The life led by ghosts is similar to that of human beings. They occupy the same type of house as before death, dwell in the same kind of villages on the river bank, wear similar clothes, have similar likes and dislikes, require similar food, and even enjoy the same kind of dances. One old Bella Coola even stated that the ghosts are able to summon supernatural beings from *Nusmät·a* to their *kusiut* rites. It is generally believed that no work is done below, although several of the older people denied this. According to these individuals, a ghost can perform more rapidly and easily whatever tasks he had been

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775 accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shadowy and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their heads, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless person. Some
775 individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of
776 ghosts, *Alial·iaiut*, sent down like Pluto to preside over the shades. He figures in certain stories describing descents to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by night to molest human beings. Like *Sxaiawax*
[761] he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitalia of anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is
775 that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to
[845] this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its ears, which are regarded as indications of previous borings for rings, is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back-room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola
[772] dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is beneath every village[a] and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The wraiths assemble from all directions and fight over the articles, none of which are obtained
[768] by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

[a] There may be one huge house, extending beneath the world like *Nusmas* above; it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

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day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to the ghost for whom it is intended. Ghost-singers have taken their places and begin to beat out music, and presently the recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back-room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival, and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been held, it is hopeless to attempt to rescue a dead person, although that has been done several times during the four days immediately succeeding death. 775 [768]

Only shamans are able to peer down into the land of the dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural, can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter cowers in his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their mission. If the relations of a dead person have failed to burn all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them, through a shaman, of the omission. The house is scoured for anything left and it is burnt at once near the grave, though no one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves, it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk, although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowling around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given [756] [756] [768] [264] [772] [177] [756]

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[The Cannibal Dance]



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Towards dawn, a herald goes through the village crying loudly:

"Get up, you young men! Get up all ye people! Something strange has come upon the young man."

The uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house where he is acting as if demented, biting any of his associates except other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts. Meanwhile those who are not members of the society cower in their own houses, and are told that if they dare to look out, X, scenting them, will bite them to death. At intervals during the morning, X goes around to the other houses, naked and savage, snapping at everyone he sees. The uninitiated hide in the bedrooms, but peek out occasionally and hear his growlings and the shrieks of mock terror with which his associates greet his bites and threats. The *kukusiut* tell non-members when it is safe for them to leave their hiding-places for necessary purposes, but at all other times they remain in concealment, listening with fear to the dangerous maniac.

About midday X returns to his house where a large number of *kukusiut* have assembled. The uninitiated certainly, and perhaps some of the *kukusiut* as well, believe that Cannibals are carried away to the land above where they are exposed to great dangers, and to prevent this an effort is always made to bind the dancer. The marshals and X's relatives have made the necessary preparations, consisting of the manufacture of a long rope, in addition to the usual dyed cedar-bark collar and a bear-skin. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the dramatic spirit of the rite, and the robe is thrust over X in spite of his furious struggles. Then the collar is forced over his head, while the women drone and the whistles sound eerily, to the wonder of the uninitiated listening from adjacent houses. The thick, cable-like rope is doubled and a circle of *kukusiut* form around the seemingly demented dancer, each man holding a section. X rushes against one part of the circle after another, as if to force his way out; sometimes he bends down, and those

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[292]

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who have gone aloft and never returned,[44] and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *kusiut* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,[45] one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Ałoliqosnumx̱*, "The Actionless Night," or *Nuxstimut*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *kukusiut* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse.

The next day, *nusiutälsap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the pretence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *kukusiut* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *kukusiut* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *hoip*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *kukusiut* disperse.

On the morrow, the rope-holder's *qothm*, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the

[44] If a Cannibal dies during his period of concealment he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a yawning chasm in the land above, but then it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends.

[45] This consists of the frenzied beating of sticks, repeated four times.

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[The Cannibal Dance]



*575 *796 787 society have recovered from the shock of X's disappearance. Thenceforth the *kusiut* dances continue night after night, but the Cannibal remains hidden. Sometimes he is carried to a dance, concealed within a drum; more often he remains within the back-room of his own house or hides in some lonely part of the mountains. Throughout this period he eats little or nothing, and formerly used to devour a brew of roots that produced emaciation. The length of concealment depends entirely on X. If he desires to impress the uninitiated with the dangers which he has survived, he remains hidden for a long time; consequently, the period varies from a week to two months or even more. On every occasion that a marshal addresses the *kukusiut* he warns them to watch for X's return, and garbled accounts of this reach the uninitiated.

When X's relatives and the marshals have decided that the Cannibal has been long enough absent, they make arrangements for him to reappear. The time selected is always the night of a *nebusam*, and after the departure of the uninitiated on the preceding evening the marshals discuss arrangements with the *kukusiut* and allot tasks to various individuals. Several *kukusiut* shave X's head, except a small patch above the forehead, to support the story which he will tell of the high winds prevailing in the land above, which blew the hair from his head.[46] [302] [772]

After the dismissal of the uninitiated on the following night of *nebusam*, the *kukusiut* make their final arrangements. When they judge from the passage of the stars or the state of the tide that dawn is at hand, several members of the society climb to the roof of the previously selected house. First they sound a whistle, then thump on the roof with their feet, and call out: [805]

*Xwa·, xwa·, xwa·*: this is a cry used by Cannibals returned from above which is supposed to indicate a longing for meat.

The *kukusiut* sleeping within, knowing that their house has been selected, are ready as soon as they are awakened. The

[46] One old man mentioned that in his youth this was done with a sharpened piece of iron; he was unable to state what was used in earlier times.

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telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and information to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in concealment, the *kukusiut* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return.

*Älquntäm* under his various names.

How his patron helped him to escape the *Älskam*, "They of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the flat land above.

The kindly being *Sinunukälälam*, who gave him the necessary power to recross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,[11] and the uninitiated are soon expelled. As the *kukusiut* are eating, one marshal after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing

[11] There is difference of opinion on this point.

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]



one is permitted to leave, and the uninitiated gaze in amazement as the seemingly endless rope continues to be drawn up through the roof, although the rattle itself can no longer be heard as if X had passed beyond earshot. They do not know that he has merely stepped from the ladder to the roof of the house, and thence to the ground, taking care to loop the cord over a projection so that he can continue drawing it out steadily. He has carefully practised rattling so that he can gradually lessen the intensity as if he were passing beyond ear-shot. One of the marshals describes the dangers to which X is exposed on his journey aloft, and calls on the *kukusiut* to sing his two songs to aid him. They are sung several times, but no others are used during the long night, nor are puppet-patrons employed as in *kusiotem* rites. The rope is being drawn from a large coil on the floor near the fire, and when the carpenters notice that it is nearly exhausted one of their number slips out to tell X to stop his climb. Presently, one or two yards of rope are quickly pulled through the hole in the roof and then all movement stops.

"He has jumped," cry the *kukusiut*.

A fluent *kusiut* explains to the uninitiated that the roof of the land above has opened before X's ever-lengthening ladder, that he has leapt from it to the ground above and tied his rope to something. On one occasion, a malicious rival cut the cable hoping that no one would notice the break, but luckily one of the watchful carpenters noticed it in time to knot the two ends. The *kukusiut* always explain that the rope is X's point of contact with the lower world, and that if it is severed, he cannot return. Accordingly, if the broken end had been drawn up through the roof, X could never have come back, and only his secret death would have served to maintain the reputation of the society.

The rope remains stationary for some time, and then is seen to be coming back through the aperture.

"X is returning," whisper the *kukusiut* to one another and the excitement becomes intense.

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]



* 575
4 796 Slowly and steadily the rope is lowered to the carpenters who coil it in a heap near the foot of the ladder. It seems an endless climb, as this part of the ceremony is expected to take quite as long as X's ascent, and must not be finished until just before dawn. At last the faint sound of the rattle is heard and presently the ladder itself begins to shake. Two or more senior members of the society climb up through the roof and return, amid the droning of the *kukusiut* women, with the traveller. The uninitiated gaze at him with fear and awe:

"He is indeed wonderful," they say to one another.

[302] X's face was painted black and white when he started his
[772] climb, but it is now clean and the uninitiated hardly need to be reminded by the *kusiut* orator that the strong wind in *Sonx*ʷ has blown all paint from his skin. He sits down beside an eloquent *kusiut* to whom he talks at length and who excites the curiosity of the audience by telling them that they will soon hear all about it. When the tale is finished, the orator stands up and tells what the traveller has seen in the land above. He states that X found a certain number of tally posts leaning and straightened them, but he never mentions whose lives have thus been preserved. The uninitiated assume without question that X has just given the orator these details, though in point of fact he has done nothing of the kind, his apparent confidant having been chosen for his skill in inventing interesting items. As soon as the story is over, the uninitiated are told to leave. While the usual meal is being prepared the carpenters haul down the ladder and cast it into the fire without ceremony. The *kukusiut* listen to the usual admonitions of the marshals as they eat, and then disperse in the early dawn, wearied from the all-night session.

Most of the village sleeps through the day, but in the late afternoon the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to X's house. The dance of the Tally Posts resembles a *kusiotem* to the extent that four days of ceremonial follow the four days just described. The evening following X's ascent is *lnxtämem*, the

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*Ayyat*: Locality near *Stuie* where berries are plentiful.
*Ayyaq*: Chief living at *Tâl'ig* in the beginning of time.

A

*am'hl'a*: One of the a'alt dances.
*an*: I, first person singular.
[262] *'ax*: Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.[1]

B

*bâkuk'*: Supernatural animal.
*Balak"*: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
*bê'pka*: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
*Baxbxaqmaixe* or *Baxbxaqmaxdaxixe*: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[825] *bâlk'*: Lamprey.
*Bâlmx*: *Kwsiut* name of a *Salix* man.
*bâxtx-i*: Abalone-shell.
*Bâxwnâk'i*: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[292] *bâqut*: Ball-topped hat worn by chiefs.
*Bâ'qwa.s*: A Kimsquit composer.
[622] *Bê'axtem*: *Stuie* man mentioned in an ancient story.
*bêq'i*: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

[821]
[772] *dâ xaq"'da* or *xaq"'*: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
*Dakdak-alaix*: 1—"The Comer," synonym for *Nexâqmx*.
2—The *kusiut* prerogative of seeing *Nexâqmx*.
*Dakdakâxa*, "The Ever-Comer": Synonym for *Nexâqmx*.
*Dakdakxamxm*: Supernatural being who awaits *Nexâqmx*.
*Dakdakxmx*: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[601] *dî tsaimxts di emts*: Niece's husband.
*dî tsaimxts tsi xaixem*: Aunt's husband.
*Dîqem'xait*: One of the first men to settle at *Alqâltsel* in the beginning of time.
*dxtix*: Archaic term for *kusiut* Breaker.[2]
[824] *dzadzê*: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
[372] *djatsîlxtsi*, *plural*, *djaldjalxkxm*: Son; term used in direct address for an adult.
[601] *Djaxkp*: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
*Djî Sîxdzaitl*, "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kmai'ts*.
[101] *Djaldzmx*: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
*Djaxdja'ax*: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
*Daxaxaq"*: Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
*Daxaxaq"*: One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
*Daxaxpax*: One of the first women to settle at *Tâl'ig* in the beginning of time.

[1] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
[2] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

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*Nanaxnyyam:* Woman endowed supernaturally by *Amʷlitwulxaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.
[787] *nanalliutz:* Omen of death.
*Nanatsmaklaem,* "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlitɛplitɛn-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
*Nanaxmlaix:* 1—Man dwelling in *Semoqmu*'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
*nanapim:* The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.
*Nanaxnaxaqx: Kusiut* name assumed by a *Sisaa* woman in the beginning of time.
[424] *nanaxyaxemx: Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qaldzam* is obscure.
*Na'arxaxtsemxaix,* "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.
[585] *nanhaxilai'em:* Synonym for *hɛxutem:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
*Nanhaxlaikta,* "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[302] *nanhaxsta:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.
*nanhaxtem-i:* Medicine brewed in a skull.
*Nanhaymats,* "Place of Much *Haymas*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
*Nanhaymis: Nuxalk* name of a Kimsquit man.
*Nanhilhaxilaix-a:* One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
[805] *nanhmaxmaxtl na xaxʷals:* One year.
[828] *nanqem:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.
*nanqeq,* "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
*nanqelqut:* The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.
[821] *Nanqulx*ʷ: 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.
[827] *nanqulitsis:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.
*nanqwaxsis:* Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutem* and other important *kusiut* rites.
[777] *nanq*ʷ*axsiklem:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.
*Nanqwihmlaix: Xaaak* name of a Kimsquit man.
[772] *Nanqwilaz:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.
*Nanqulaix:* The upper heaven.
*nanqwna:* Woman with thick pubic hair.
*Nanqwulaqtsa-i:* A *Sisaa* repository.
*Nantlqaxtlmaix,* "Where *Alqunstem* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
[824] *nantsimyaxaqs:* Cottonwood buds.
*Nantsnaia'xis,* "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smaaas* in the beginning of time.
*nantsilaxq:* Canoe-maker.
*Nantslaxm:* River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuqalait.*
[535] [869] *nantsletsmp:* Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

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*nuxlo:* The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call.

*nuxiqul, plural, nuxuxiwul:* Singer.

*nuxikwuks:* Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]

*Nuximuxte:* Mountain near *Atow-ax-i.*

*nuxiutsl* or *nuxiutslnap:* Second day of a *huxiut* dance.

*Nuxiwilaixuikun:* Synonym for *Tutwai-ax:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

*nuxkaxiutxa:* Repository.

*nuxkil:* Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]

*Nuxkolalemuxtu,* "Whence Things Came Down": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

*nuxlukuxte:* Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.

*Nuxlxiqul:* 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.

*Nuxlxmaxte:* Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsaxis* in the beginning of time.

*Nuxlxmidjaxte:* Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nuxlxalx.*

*Nuxlxmuxtil:* Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsaxis* in the beginning of time.

*Nu-xlxnkaxmq:* Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

*nuxlxtla:* Wasps' nest. [825]

*Nuxlxulxkinda:* One of the first women to settle at *Tsaxlil* in the beginning of time.

*nuxlxumxtite:* House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.

*Nux-lxum:* Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.

*Nuxlxwaqumxlum,* "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alqaxtite.*

*nuxlxuxta:* House in which a potlatch is taking place.

*nuxlxuy:* One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]

*nuxlxlxlxte:* Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing.

*Nuxlxlxtsmxidjist,* "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Tlixsqa-lilx-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans. [756]

*nuxlxumxcxlxte:* Enclosure behind fire in which *huxiut* dancers are secluded.

*nuxlxwaxte:* Changing rites in connection with death. [764]

*Nuxlxtxuluxq:* *Tlalqatham* name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.

*Nuxmlxwuxul:* 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Bxaxs* in the beginning of time.

*Nuxmlx-a:* 1—"Place of Stories": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxlxalx* in the beginning of time.

*Nuxmlx-alx-a,* "Woman of *Nuxmlx-a*": Probably wife of *Alqaxtite.*

*Nux-mxlxlxix:* Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.

*Nuxmxtlxlxmxix:* Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

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*Nemis-ang*, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago. [192*]
*nemisnistis*: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]
*Nem*: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective*.
*Nenpalpip*: *Tal'is* bird hunter.
*Nenpemde*: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tal'is* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alpalsal* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
*Nenpemsisiwa*: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alpalsal* in the beginning of time.
*Nenxep*: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
*nenxi'ipsis*: Repository, archaic term.
*nenxwa-di-nalmem*: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
*nenxwalempelis*, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
*nenxwa'ipsis*: Wooden dish used for washing an infant. [415]
*nenxwilemem*: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [785]
*nelelim*: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
*Nelenkaw*: Name of a celebrated shaman.
*Nelem*: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
*Nelel*, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
*nelexpem*: Alteration of a dance from *nemil* to *hamat*. [825]
*nelitelis*: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
*nelitelmemim*, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
*nelitelmem*: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
*Nellim*, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
*Nemkalp*: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nexpaip* in the beginning of time.
*nemkwalt*: Parents of twins. [845]
*nempepem*: Wolf. [825]
*Nelemlemis*: Mythical house in the sky.
*Nelenpemis*: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
*nemtekaw*: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thaqqilaz-a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nelelim*. [756]
*nemxepem*: A creation of *new burial* names, such as is occasioned by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
*nemxwadem*: *Kwakiutl* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
*nemxwemem*: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
*nenkpem*, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who points upon the head again used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
*Nenpemk*, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
*Nelemimis*: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Tsimsiil* man.

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linked some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in 1896,[1] which, however, contain so many misconceptions that they cannot be used to advantage. At the same time I published a brief description of the tribe, based on information received from a small group of members of the tribe who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks, judging by the similarity to masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct.[2] In 1890 I fell in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891.[3] A. Jacobsen published a description of their ceremonies in 1891.[4] Filip Jacobsen described some of their traditions and customs in 1894 and 1895.[5] I published a collection of traditions in 1894 and 1895.[6]

## III.

All the collections which have been made heretofore do not bring out clearly the principal characteristic of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The tribes of the North Pacific coast consider the Sun as the most important deity, but at the same time they believe in a great many beings of supernatural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very unsystematic. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, have developed a peculiar mythology, in which a number of supernatural beings have been co-ordinated. A system has been evolved which justifies our terming the supernatural beings "deities." The general features of this system are as follows:—

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds, one above another. The middle one is our own world, the earth. Above it are spanned two heavens, while below it there are two underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a woman who interferes comparatively little with the fates of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven, that is in the zenith, stands the house of the gods, in which reside the Sun and all the other deities. Our own earth is an island swimming in the ocean. The underworld is inhabited by the ghosts, who are at liberty to return to heaven, whence they may be sent down again to our earth. The ghosts

[1] Original Mittheilungen aus dem Ethnologischen Museum der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1886, pp. 173-178.
[2] Ibid., pp. 177-179.
[3] Seventh Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, pp. 1-21; Report of the 60th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Leeds, 1890, pp. 562-581.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, pp. 363-377.
[5] Ibid., Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1894, pp. 177-201; 1895, pp. 1-13.
[6] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, pp. 280-306; 1895, pp. 182-193.

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772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Ätsa'axl., or Sauta'ɣaḵ·'a'la ti Sōax· t'aix·, or
[774] Sōaxaux. Omq'ō'mkilik·a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called
Qamā'its, or Tsi sientaaxti. ("our woman"), or Ek·!yak·imtōla'yi. ("afraid
of nothing").

772 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that
776 in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods
in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from
the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rent in the sky
which is called Tsi.ns'lōtas ti Sōax· t'aix·. The house of the supreme deity
stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country,
driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house,
however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a
large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front
of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white.
Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this
pond lives the st'siut, or xtsaltsalō'xem. This being sometimes descends to
our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides
of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 44, 66).

773 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height.
823 They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qamā'its
made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them
smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of
the mountain Yelyuls'mt., which is situated near Nut.l'l. Its face may be
recognised even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it
answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola
River. The one is called Sl.ex·l.ēkoai'l.; the other one, Na'axl. The for-
mer had a fire, called Sautai'k·atmats, burning in his house. This fire
warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qamā'its made war upon
the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qamā'its was coming down the
river in her canoe, which is named "T!kun." When she approached, he
broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been trans-
formed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain
Sl.ex·l.ēkoai'l.. It is said that Qamā'its visits the earth every now and then.
Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sōax·, stands the
776 house of the gods. This house is named Nuamx·'ts (the House of Myths),
or Nuak!oal.ma!'x·ets ("where man was created"), or Nuak·l.al.a'x·mats
("the house from which people come down"), or Nuaqilxoai'x·ets ("the
house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called
Nal.ma!'x·ts. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

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white crane (?). Qō'xōx, is sitting on top of the post. The master of the house is Sunx, the Sun. He is also called Ta'ata ("our father"), or Smai'yakila ("the sacred one"), or Smayalō'ɔ.la. It seems that he is the only deity to whom the Bella Coola pray. They do not pray to Qamā'its, the deity of the supreme heaven. I have not found any prayers directed to the other deities of the lower heaven. I recorded a number of such prayers directed to the Sun. They are as follows:— 772 776 776 782 539

Atk'ɔ'x!ɔ'ɔ.lmx Tātsu'! ("Look on us where we are going, Father!")

Tātsu'! atk'alɔ'x!emdō'ɔ.lx! ("Take care of us, Father!")

Tātsu'! tk'alɔ'x!mstō'ɔ.lx ala mestsɔ.l'a'ɔ.ts! Tātsu' st.ēp'alōsɔ.lIōɔ.lx! ("Father! take care of our road! Take care of us!")

After a long-continued rain, they pray:—

Tupōs'mx Tātsu'! hōɔ.'ē'lxmtimō'ɔ.lx, Tātsu'! ("Wipe your face, Father! that it may be fair weather.")

The mountain-goat hunter prays:—

Ōmya yēōtātsɔ.lx, Tātsu', ta mexmx'etmō, Smāyalō'ɔ.lsu'! ("Let your children look at me, Smayalō'ɔ.la, Father!")

A person pursued by misfortune prays:—

Nāqlamēk'!'mtsx Tātsu'! emeqomak'ma tō ti q!ayaxemtsxmt'si'x'. ("Make me happy, Father! You have given me too much misfortune.")

A sick person prays:—

Nāqlamēk'!'mtsx Tātsu'! sk'a mēq!'nalomtō'mx Tātsu'! ("Let my life be long, Father!")

The successful hunter, or the woman who has found a plentiful supply of berries, prays:—

Nēnōqalmē'k'mts ti mdmtsi'stx' sk'a nāqlamēk'imts sk'a pō'ɔ.tus ameni'k'mtsi'stx sk'ōsk'ō ti aqlaist'stx'. ("Father! You make me happy. You give me what I desire. Thus I find what I wished for.") 776 782

The Bella Coola also make offerings to the Sun. Hunters throw four small slices of seal-meat, of mountain-goat tallow, etc., into the fire as an offering to the Sun, in order to obtain success in hunting. Sick people burn parts of their clothing, which they decorate with red cedar-bark, as an offering to regain health.

The second deity, who is called Atk'untā'm, seems to be of equal importance. Sunx and Atk'untā'm stay in the rear of the House of Myths. Near the fire stays Sɔ.ɔ.tk'alsx'ā'la. He is an old man who formerly ruled over 776 [772]

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the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Senx and Alk'unta'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar characteristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Alk'unta'm's mother, Nanusomik·eeqonx'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition, the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Alk'unta'm, the stake being the salmon. Alk'unta'm lost, and the man took the salmon down from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38, where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl. In the tradition quoted above, Alk'unta'm also gives to man the power to cure disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the sick person.

A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the Bella Coola which is called kŭ'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'ētsa'eqa of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kŭ'siut is of equal importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials performed during the kŭ'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths: therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials. Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII) are Senx, Alk'unta'm, and Snōlk'ulx·a'ls. The functions of many of the inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kŭ'siut. These deities and their functions are as follows: Six·sek·tlai'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty to kill those who transgress the laws of the kŭ'siut. This deity is mentioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-seik Kallai.[4] Nusnē'neq'als (Plate VII, Fig. 7), or the Snēnē'lq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 943.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311–738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 388.

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776 [842] having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is rocking the cradle, she sings, —

[539] "nōēxnōēmaix·nimōta nēkō'k·s la nōēx·L!ɛ'malsaix· au au au au.
Aayotsētsk'ōu·'ats aix·'ixōt.ayā'mk·tētu'ats snsmnsmk·'ā'howasōats ayawa
sōyōnxsōats au au au au."

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called Nonō'osqa (Plate X, Figs. 7 and 9), the daughter of Snukpa'nL!ts. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the Sun is believed to move on his path towards the west, face forward, and consequently during the spring months ascends the sky [821] moving towards the right; so that Snukpa'nL!ts, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to sprout. Every spring Nonō'osqa gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 8 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the ensuing year. Two beings called Kakēstsai'ōt. ōla xma'noas are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its centre, and swings like a seesaw. Then all the men and all the animals [761] are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Nutsɛkon'lsika (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. Aɬk'unta'm has two children, — the deer, who is called Snoō'lɛxɛlts Aɬk'unta'm, that is, "the foolish son of Aɬk'unta'm" (Plate VII, Fig. 8), and lɛɛxonix·is Aɬk'unta'm. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While Sɛɛx and Aɬk'unta'm are principally concerned with the fates of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of man. Their thoughts are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Masmasala'nix or Ontsk·ɛ'mtɛnɛm (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are Maɬapā'litsēk· ("the one who finishes his work by chopping once"), Yula'timot ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing once"), Maɬ'apɛ'exōēk· ("the one who finishes his work by cutting once"), and Iɬ'iɬu'lak·. They [772] have a sister called ɬ.'a'qumēlks. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave man his arts. They taught him to build canoes, to make boxes, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

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776 sign of the salmon-berry blossom: A'ī'mākˢ has the shape of a kingfisher: and L'ĕtsa'aplĕLAna is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled
532 with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xĕmxĕmalā'oLla is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspō'xta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of ALk'untā'm.[1]

776 In one tradition L'ĕtsa'aplĕLAna[2] is described as visiting houses and
773 stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his
[114] arrow, whereupon she recovers.[1] Formerly I had the impression that these
575 ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'kˢ ceremonial,[2] but this impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the kō'siut.

575 In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named LlŌ'sta, in
773 which the son of the deities lives. His name is Ba'EXŌLla or Snupaaxola'lt.
776 When SEnx and ALk'untā'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them past the door of Ba'EXŌL'a's room. The latter then rushes out of his room
[772] and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to the tradition of the tribe SE'nxLEmxˢ, they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Ba'EXŌLla came down to the mountain Sqtsl., where he met with the son of SEnxalō'LElа, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Q'oalaiu'tstimot. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Ba'EXŌLla took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rent in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qama'its. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qama'its sitting in front of her house; and she said to Ba'EXŌLla, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 494.
[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 6.

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suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qama'its said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qama'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qama'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sq'ᵘxsEn), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him.

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that of the Cannibal, lives Kōkō'sLxEm, another son of the deities. His room is called Nus'ō'lxsta. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI).

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanō's ti Sōax t'aix (Plate X, Fig. 1). He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k-

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have to put the firewood. This opening is called K·awa'umsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Masmasala'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kū'siut song refers to these deities:—

Ai'mats tā mnatsai' tō·xts ti sō'nx·tsgi t'aix·
Aiēlx tā mnatsai' ōl ti S'aL·walō'sEms ti Sōnx· t'aix·
Sk·a ya'lx·tux ti si'lxnō tā mnatsai'.
Sk·a anōg·a wa EXEmē'x ti K·awa'umstask· ti Sōnx· t'aix· tā mnatsai.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke
Go to S'aL·walō'sEm of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nēkō'ōl, or QEnk·i'lst, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called ALēp!alaxtnaix·. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnik"pstak·imtōLs," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears.

In the ocean lives a being called SēLsāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kū'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōLk"LōlE'mx·). It is called Asiutā'nEm. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform

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their kŭ'siut. It is just below the burial-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four fires. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed in the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Anōēl.'axsaLai'x. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 42).

The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Mta'lton. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Winwī'na lived at Q'o'mqotis. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Winwī'na entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Mta'lton. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take some slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink retorted, "I am glad that you are speaking,